









ERY 1722  
Paine, Thomas

A

L E T T E R

TO THE

EARL OF SHELBURNE,

NOW

MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE.

C H I L D R

CHILD OF SHIRAZ

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MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE,

ON HIS

S. P. E. E. C. H.

JULY 10, 1782,

RESPECTING THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF  
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

---

By THOMAS PAINE,

Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Congress in the American  
War, and Author of COMMON SENSE, a LETTER to  
the ABBE RAYNAL, RIGHTS of MAN, &c.

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D U B L I N:

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L E T T E R, &c.

MY LORD,

A SPEECH which has been printed in several of the British and New-York Newspapers, as coming from your Lordship, in answer to one from the Duke of Richmond of the 10th of July last, contains expressions and opinions so new and singular, and so enveloped in mysterious reasoning, that I address this publication to you, for the purpose of giving them a free and candid examination. The speech I allude to is in these words:

“ His Lordship said, it had been men-  
“ tioned in another place, that he had been  
“ guilty of inconstitence. To clear himself  
“ of this, he asserted that he still held the  
“ same principles in respect to American  
“ Independence which he at first imbibed.  
“ He had been, and yet was of opinion,  
“ whenever the Parliament of Great Britain  
“ acknowledges that point, the sun of Eng-  
“ land’s glory is set for ever. Such were  
“ the sentiments he possessed on a former  
“ day, and such the sentiments he conti-  
“ nued to hold at this hour. It was the  
“ opinion of Lord Chatham, as well as many  
“ able statesmen. Other noble Lords, how-  
“ ever, think differently; and as the majority  
“ of the Cabinet support them, he acquiesced  
“ in the measure, dissenting from the idea;  
“ and the point is settled for bringing the ma-  
“ ter into the full discussion of Parliament,  
“ where it will be candidly, fairly, and im-  
“ partially

“ partially debated. The Independence of  
“ America would end in the ruin of Eng-  
“ land ; and that a peace patched up with  
“ France would give that proud enemy the  
“ means of yet trampling on this country.  
“ The sun of England’s glory he wished not  
“ to see set for ever ; he looked for a spark  
“ at least to be left, which might in time light  
“ us up to a new day. But if Independence  
“ was to be granted, if Parliament deemed  
“ that measure prudent, he foresaw in his  
“ own mind that England was undone. He  
“ wished to God that he had been deputed  
“ to Congress, that he might plead the cause  
“ of that country as well as of this, and that  
“ he might exercise whatever powers he  
“ possessed as an orator, to save both from  
“ ruin, in a conviction to Congress, that, if  
“ their Independence was signed, their liber-  
“ ties were gone for ever.

“ PEACE,

" PEACE, his Lordship added, was a de-  
 " firable object, but it must be an honour-  
 " able peace, and not an humiliating one,  
 " dictated by France, or insisted on by Ame-  
 " rica. It was very true, this kingdom was  
 " not in a flourishing state, it was impo-  
 " verished by war. But if we were not  
 " rich, it was evident that France was poor.  
 " If we were straitened in our finances,  
 " the enemy were exhausted in their re-  
 " sources. This was a great empire; it  
 " abounded with brave men, who were able  
 " and willing to fight in a common cause;  
 " the language of humiliation should not,  
 " therefore, be the language of Great Britain.  
 " His Lordship said, that he was not asha-  
 " med nor afraid of those expressions going  
 " to America. There were numbers, great  
 " numbers there, who were of the same way  
 " of thinking, in respect to that country  
 " being

“ being dependent on this, and who, with  
“ his Lordship, perceived ruin and inde-  
“ pendence linked together.”

Thus far the speech; on which I remark,  
—That his Lordship is a total stranger to  
the mind and sentiments of America; that  
he has wrapped himself up in fond delusion,  
that something less than Independence may,  
under his Administration, be accepted; and  
he wishes himself sent to Congress, to prove  
the most extraordinary of all doctrines, which  
is, that INDEPENDENCE, the sublimest of all  
human conditions, is loss of liberty.

IN answer to which we may say, that in  
order to know what the contrary word DE-  
PENDENCE means, we have only to look back  
to those years of severe humiliation, when  
the mildest of all petitions could obtain no

other notice than the haughtiest of all insults; and when the base terms of unconditional submission were demanded, or undistinguishable destruction threatened. It is nothing to us that the Ministry have been changed, for they may be changed again. The guilt of Government is the crime of a whole country; and the nation that can, though but for a moment, think and act as England has done, can never afterwards be believed or trusted. There are cases in which it is as impossible to restore character to life, as it is to recover the dead. It is a phoenix that can expire but once, and from whose ashes there is no resurrection. Some offences are of such a slight composition, that they reach no farther than the temper, and are created or cured by a thought. But the sin of England has struck the heart of  
America,

America, and nature has not left it in our power to say we can forgive.

YOUR Lordship wishes for an opportunity to plead before Congress *the cause of England and America, and to save, as you say, both from ruin.*

THAT the country, which, for more than seven years, has sought our destruction, should now cringe to solicit our protection, is adding the wretchedness of disgrace to the misery of disappointment; and if England has the least spark of supposed honour left, that spark must be darkened by asking, and extinguished by receiving, the smallest favour from America: for the criminal who owes his life to the grace and mercy of the injured, is more executed by living than he who dies.

BUT a thousand pleadings, even from your Lordship, can have no effect. Honour, interest, and every sensation of the heart, would plead against you. We are a people who think not as you think, and what is equally true, you cannot feel as we feel. The situations of the two countries are exceedingly different. We have been the seat of war: you have seen nothing of it. The most wanton destruction has been committed in our sight; the most insolent barbarity has been acted on our feelings. We can look round and see the remains of burnt and destroyed houses, once the fair fruit of hard industry, and now the striking monuments of British brutality. We walk over the dead whom we loved, in every part of America, and remember by whom they fell. There is scarcely a village but brings to life some melancholy thought, and reminds us of what

we  
we



we have suffered, and of those we have lost by the inhumanity of Britain. A thousand images arise to us, which, from situation, you cannot see, and are accompanied by as many ideas which you cannot know; and therefore your supposed system of reasoning would apply to nothing, and all your expectations die of themselves.

THE question, whether England shall accede to the Independence of America, and which your Lordship says is to undergo a parliamentary discussion, is so very simple, and composed of so few cases, that it scarcely needs a debate.

IT is the only way out of an expensive and ruinous war, which has now no object, and without which acknowledgement there can be no peace.

BUT

BUT your Lordship says, “ *The sun of Great Britain will set whenever she acknowledges the Independence of America.*” Whereas the metaphor would have been strictly just, to have left the sun wholly out of the figure, and have ascribed her not acknowledging it to the influence of the moon.

BUT the expression, if true, is the greatest confession of disgrace that could be made, and furnishes America with the highest notions of sovereign independent importance. Mr. Wedderburne, about the year 1776, made use of an idea of much the same kind, —“ *Relinquish America!*” says he—*What is it but to desire a giant to shrink spontaneously into a dwarf.*”

ALAS! are those people who call themselves Englishmen, of so little internal consequence,

quence, that when America is gone, or shuts her eyes upon them, their sun is set, they can shine no more, but grope about in obscurity, and contract into insignificant animals? Was America, then, the giant of the empire, and England only her dwarf in waiting? Is the case so strangely altered, that those who once thought we could not live without them, now declare they cannot exist without us? Will they tell to the world, and that from their first Minister of State, that America is their all in all; that it is by her importance only they can live, and breathe. and have a being? Will they, who threatened to bring us to their feet, now cast themselves at ours, and own that without us they are not a nation? Are they become so unqualified to debate on Independence, that they have lost all idea of it in themselves, and are calling to the rocks and mountains of America

to

to cover their insignificance? Or, if America is lost, is it manly to sob over it like a child for its rattle, and invite the laughter of the world by declarations of disgrace? Surely, the more consistent conduct would be, to bear it without complaint; and to shew that England, without America, can preserve her independence, and a suitable rank with other European Powers. You were not contented while you had her, and to weep for her now is childish.

BUT Lord Shelburne thinks that something may yet be done. What that something is, or how it is to be accomplished, is a matter in obscurity. By arms there is no hope. The experience of nearly eight years, with the expence of an hundred million pounds sterling, and the loss of two armies, must positively decide that point. Besides,  
the

the British have lost their interest in America with the disaffected. Every part of it has been tried. There is no new scene left for delusion: and the thousands who have been ruined by adhering to them, and have now to quit the settlements they had acquired, and be conveyed like transports to cultivate the deserts of Augustine and Nova Scotia, has put an end to all farther expectations of aid.

If you cast your eyes on the people of England, what have they to console themselves with for the millions expended? or, what encouragement is there left to continue throwing good money after bad? America can carry on the war for ten years longer, and all the charges of government included, for less than you can defray the charges of war and government for one year. And I,

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who

who know both countries, know well, that the people of America can afford to pay their share of the expence much better than the people of England can. Besides, it is their own estates and property, their own rights, liberties and government, they are defending; and were they not to do it, they would deserve to lose all, and none would pity them. The fault would be their own, and their punishment just.

THE British army in America care not how long the war lasts. They enjoy an easy and indolent life. They fatten on the folly of one country and the spoils of another; and, between their plunder and their pay, may go home rich. But the case is very different with the labouring farmer, the working tradesman, and the necessitous poor in England, the sweat of whose brow goes day

day after day to feed, in prodigality and sloth, the army that is robbing both them and us. Removed from the eye of the country that supports them, and distant from the government that employs them, they cut and carve for themselves, and there is none to call them to account.

BUT England will be ruined, says Lord Shelburne, if America is independent.

THEN, I say, is England already ruined, for America is already independent: and if Lord Shelburne will not allow this, he immediately denies the fact which he infers. Besides, to make England the mere creature of America, is paying too great a compliment to us, and too little to himself.

BUT the declaration is a rhapsody of inconsistency. For to say, as Lord Shelburne has numberless times said, that the war against America is ruinous; and yet to continue the prosecution of that ruinous war for the purpose of avoiding ruin, is a language which cannot be understood. Neither is it possible to see how the Independence of America is to accomplish the ruin of England after the war is over, and yet not effect it before. America cannot be more independent of her, nor a greater enemy to her, hereafter than she is now; nor England derive less advantages from her than at present: why then is ruin to follow in the best state of the case, and not in the worst! And if not in the worst, why is it to follow at all?

THAT a nation is to be ruined by peace and commerce, and fourteen or fifteen millions



lions a-year less expences than before, is a new doctrine in politics. We have heard much clamour of national savings and œconomy; but surely the true œconomy would be, to save the whole charge of a silly, foolish, and headstrong war; because, compared with this, all other retrenchments are bawbles and trifles.

BUT is it possible that Lord Shelburne can be serious in supposing the least advantage can be obtained by arms, or that any advantage can be equal to the expence, or the danger of attempting it? Will not the capture of one army after another satisfy him, but all must become prisoners? Must England ever be the sport of hope and the dupe of delusion? Sometimes our currency was to fail; another time our army was to disband: then whole provinces were to revolt. Such a General said

said this and that; another wrote so and so. Lord Chatham was of this opinion; and Lord Somebody else of another. To-day 20,000 Russians and 20 Russian ships of the line were to come; to-morrow the Empress was abused without mercy or decency.— Then the Emperor of Germany was to be bribed with a million of money, and the King of Prussia was to do wonderful things. At one time it was, Lo here! and then it was, Lo there! Sometimes this Power, and sometimes that Power, was to engage in the war, just as if the whole world was as mad and foolish as Britain. And thus, from year to year, has every straw been caught at, and every Will-with-a-Wisp led them a new dance.

THIS year a still newer folly is to take place. Lord Shelburne wishes to be sent  
to

to Congress, and he thinks that something may be done.

ARE not the repeated declarations of Congress, and which all America supports, that they will not even hear any proposals whatever, until the unconditional and unequivocal Independence of America is recognised; are not, I say, these declarations answer enough?

BUT for England to receive any thing from America now, after so many insults, injuries, and outrages, acted towards us, would shew such a spirit of meanness in her, that we could not but despise her for accepting it. And so far from Lord Shelburne coming here to solicit it, it would be the greatest disgrace we could do them to offer it. England would appear a wretch indeed,

at this time of day, to ask or owe any thing to the bounty of America. Has not the name of Englishman blots enough upon it, without inventing more? Even Lucifer would scorn to reign in Heaven by permission, and yet an Englishman can creep for only an entrance into America. Or has a land of Liberty so many charms, that to be a door-keeper in it is better than to be an English Minister of State?

BUT what can this expected something be? or, if obtained, what can it amount to, but new disgraces, contentions, and quarrels? The people of America have for years accustomed themselves to think and speak so freely and contemptuously of English authority, and the inveteracy is so deeply rooted, that a person invested with any authority from that country, and attempting

to exercise it here, would have the life of a toad under a harrow, They would look on him as an interloper, to whom their compassion permitted a residence. He would be no more than the Mungo of the farce; and if he disliked that, he must set off. It would be a station of degradation, debased by our pity, and despised by our pride, and would place England in a more contemptible situation than any she has yet suffered by the war. We have too high an opinion of ourselves, ever to think of yielding again the least obedience to outlandish authority, and for a thousand reasons, England would be the last country in the world to yield it to. She has been treacherous, and we know it. Her character is gone, and we have seen the funeral.

D

SURELY

SURELY she loves to fish in troubled waters, and drink the cup of contention, or she would not now think of mingling her affairs with those of America. It would be like a foolish dotard taking to his arms the bride that despises him, or who has placed on his head the ensigns of her disgust. It is kissing the hand that boxes his ears, and proposing to renew the exchange. The thought is as servile as the war was wicked, and shews the last scene of the drama as inconsistent as the first.

As America is gone, the only act of manhood is to *let her go*. Your Lordship had no hand in the separation, and you will gain no honour by temporising politics. Besides, there is something so exceedingly whimsical, unsteady, and even insincere in the

the present conduct of England, that she exhibits herself in the most dishonourable colours.

ON the second of August last General Carleton and Admiral Digby wrote to General Washington in these words:

“ THE resolution of the House of Commons of the 27th of February last have been placed in your Excellency’s hands, and intimations given at the same time, that farther pacific measures were likely to follow. Since which, until the present time, we have had no direct communications from England; but a mail is now arrived, which brings us very important information. We are acquainted, Sir, by authority, that negotiations for a general peace have already commenced at

“Paris, and that Mr. Grenville is invested  
 “with full powers to treat with all the  
 “parties at war, and is now at Paris in the  
 “execution of his commission. And we are  
 “farther, Sir, made acquainted, *“that his  
 “Majesty, in order to remove any obstacles to  
 “that peace which he so ardently wishes to  
 “restore, has commanded his Ministers to direct  
 “Mr. Grenville, that the Independence of the  
 “Thirteen United provinces, should be proposed  
 “by him in the first instance, instead of making  
 “it a condition of a general treaty.”*

Now, taking your present measures into  
 view, and comparing them with the decla-  
 ration in this Letter, pray, what is the word  
 of your King, or his Ministers, or the Par-  
 liament, good for? Must we not look upon  
 you as a confederated body of faithless, trea-  
 cherous men, whose assurances are fraud,  
 and



and their language deceit? What opinion can we possibly form of you, but that you are a lost, abandoned, profligate nation, who sport even with your own character, and are to be held by nothing but the bayonet or the halter?

To say, after this, *that the sun of Great Britain will be set whenever she acknowledges the Independence of America*, when the not doing it is the unqualified lie of Government, can be no other than the language of ridicule, the jargon of inconsistency. There were thousands in America who predicted the delusion, and looked upon it as a trick of treachery, to take us from our guard, and draw off our attention from the only system of finance, by which we can be called, or deserve to be called, a sovereign, independent people. The fraud, on your part, might

might be worth attempting, but the sacrifice to obtain it is too high.

THERE were others who credited the assurance, because they thought it impossible that men who had their characters to establish, would begin it with a lie. The prosecution of the war by the former Ministry was savage and horrid; since which it has been mean, trickish, and delusive. The one went greedily into the passion of revenge, the other into the subtleties of low contrivance; till, between the crimes of both, there is scarcely left a man in America, be he Whig or Tory, who does not despise or detest the conduct of Britain.

THE management of Lord Shelburne, whatever may be his views, is a caution to us, and must be to the world, never to regard  
British

British assurances. A perfidy so notorious cannot be hid. It stands even in the public papers of New York, with the names of Carleton and Digby affixed to it. It is a proclamation that the King of England is not to be believed: that the spirit of lying is the governing principle of the Ministry. It is holding up the character of the House of Commons to public infamy, and warning all men not to credit them. Such is the consequence which Lord Shelburne's management has brought upon his country.

AFTER the authorised declarations contained in Carleton and Digby's letter, you ought, from every motive of honour, policy, and prudence, to have fulfilled them, whatever might have been the event. It was the least atonement you could possibly make to America, and the greatest kindness you could

do

do to yourselves; for you will save millions by a general peace, and you will lose as many by continuing the war.

### COMMON SENSE.

*Philadelphia,  
October 29, 1782.*

P. S. The manuscript copy of this letter is sent your Lordship, by the way of our Head Quarters, to New York, inclosing a late pamphlet of mine, addressed to the Abbe Reynal, which will serve to give your Lordship some idea of the principles and sentiments of America.

C. S.

APPEN-

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## A P P E N D I X.

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**T**HE two following Letters were first published in England in the Morning Post.

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TO THE AUTHORS OF  
**T H E R E P U B L I C A N .**

GENTLEMEN,

M. DUCHASTELET has mentioned to me the intention of some persons to commence a Work under the title of *The Republican*.

As I am a Citizen of a country which knows no other Majesty than that of the People—no other Government than that of the Representative body—no other Sovereignty than that of the Laws; and which is attached to *France* both by Alliance and by Gratitude, I voluntarily offer you my services in support of principles as honourable to a nation as they are adapted to promote the happiness of mankind. I offer them to you with the more zeal, as I know the moral, literary, and political character of those who are engaged in the undertaking, and find myself honoured in their good opinion.

BUT I must at the same time observe, that from my ignorance of the French language, my works must necessarily undergo a translation; they can of course be but of little utility,

utility, and my offering must consist more of wishes than services—I must add, that I am obliged to pass a part of this summer in England and Ireland.

—As the Public has done me the unmerited favour of recognizing me under the appellation of “Common Sense,” which is my usual signature, I shall continue it in this publication to avoid mistakes, and to prevent my being supposed the author of works not my own. As to my Political Principles, I shall endeavour, in this letter, to trace their general features in such a manner, as that they cannot be misunderstood.

It is desirable in most instances to avoid that, which may give even the least suspicion with respect to the part meant to be adopted, and particularly on the present occasion, where

a perfect

a perfect clearness of expression is necessary to the avoidance of any possible misinterpretation. I am happy, therefore, to find, that the work in question is entitled "*The Republican*." This word expresses perfectly the idea which we ought to have of Government in general—*Res Publica*—the public affairs of a Nation.

As to the word *Monarchy*, though the address and intrigue of Courts have rendered it familiar, it does not contain the less of reproach or of insult to a nation. The word, in its immediate and original sense, signifies *the absolute Power of a single Individual*, who may prove a fool, an hypocrite, or a tyrant. The appellation admits of no other interpretation than that which is here given. *France* is therefore not a *Monarchy*; it is insulted when called by that name. The servile spirit which characterises this species of Government



vernment is banished from FRANCE, and this country, like AMERICA, can now afford to Monarchy no more than a glance of disdain.

Of the errors which monarchic ignorance, or knavery has spread through the world; the one, which bears the marks of the most dexterous invention, is the opinion that the system of *Republicanism* is only adapted to a small country, and that a *Monarchy* is suited, on the contrary, to those of greater extent. Such is the language of Courts, and such the sentiments which they have caused to be adopted in monarchic countries; but the opinion is contrary at the same time to principle and to experience.

THE GOVERNMENT, to be of real use, should possess a complete knowledge of all  
the

the parties—all the circumstances, and all the interests of a nation. The monarchic system, in consequence, instead of being suited to a country of great extent, would be more admissible in a small territory, where an individual may be supposed to know the affairs and the interests of the whole. But when it is attempted to extend this individual knowledge to the affairs of a great country, the capacity of knowing bears no longer any proportion to the extent or multiplicity of the objects which ought to be known, and the Government inevitably falls from ignorance into tyranny. For the proof of this position we need only look to SPAIN, RUSSIA, GERMANY, TURKEY, and the whole of the Eastern Continent—Countries for the deliverance of which I offer my most sincere wishes.

ON

ON the contrary, the true *Republican* system, by Election and Representation, offers the only means which are known, and in my opinion the only means which are possible of proportioning the wisdom and the information of a Government to the extent of a country.

THE system of *Representation* is the strongest and most powerful center that can be devised for a nation. Its attraction acts so powerfully, that men give it their approbation even without reasoning on the cause; and FRANCE, however distant its several parts, finds itself at this moment *an Whole* in its *central* Representation. The citizen is assured that his rights are protected, and the soldier feels that he is no longer the Slave of a Despot, but that he is become one of the Nation, and interested of course in its defence.

THE States at present styled *Republican*, as HOLLAND, GENOA, VENICE, BERNE, &c. are not only unworthy of the name, but are actually in opposition to every Principle of a *Republican* Government, and the countries submitted to their power are, truly speaking, subjected to an *Aristocratic* Slavery!

It is, perhaps, impossible in the first steps which are made in a Revolution, to avoid all kind of error, in principle or in practice, or in some instances to prevent the combination of both. Before the sense of a nation is sufficiently enlightened, and before men have entered into the habits of a free communication with each other of their natural thoughts, a certain reserve—a timid prudence seizes on the human mind, and prevents it from attaining its level, with that vigour and promptitude which belongs to

to *Right*.—An example of this influence discovers itself in the commencement of the present Revolution: but happily this discovery has been made before the Constitution was completed, and in time to provide a remedy.

THE *Hereditary Succession* can never exist as a matter of *right*; it is a *nullity*—a *nothing*. To admit the idea is to regard men as a species of property belonging to some individuals, either born or to be born! It is to consider our descendents, and all posterity as mere animals without a *Right* or a *Will*! It is, in fine, the most base and humiliating idea that ever degraded the human species, and which, for the honour of Humanity, should be destroyed for ever.

THE idea of hereditary succession is so contrary to the Rights of Man, that if we

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were

were ourselves to be recalled to existence, instead of being replaced by our posterity, we should not have the right of depriving ourselves beforehand of those *Rights* which would then properly belong to us. On what ground, then, or by what authority, do we dare to deprive of their rights those children who will soon be men? Why are we not struck with the injustice which we perpetrate on our descendents, by endeavouring to transmit them as a vile herd, to masters whose vices are all that can be foreseen.

WHENEVER the *French* Constitution shall be rendered conformable to its *Declaration of Rights*, we shall then be enabled to give to FRANCE, and with justice, the appellation of a *civic Empire*; for its government will be the empire of Laws founded on the great republican principles of *Elective Representation*,

tion, and the *Rights of Man*—But Monarchy and Hereditary Succession are incompatible with the *basis* of its constitution.

I hope that I have at present sufficiently proved to you that I am a good Republican; and I have such a confidence in the truth of these principles, that I doubt not they will soon be as universal in *France* as in *America*. The pride of human nature will assist their evidence, will contribute to their establishment, and Men will be ashamed of Monarchy.

I am, with respect

Gentlemen,

Your friend,

THOMAS PAINE.

LET-

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# L E T T E R

TO THE

A B B E S Y E Y E S.

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Paris, 8th July, 1791.

SIR,

“AT the moment of my departure for England, I read, in the *Moniteur* of Tuesday last, your letter, in which you give the challenge, on the subject of Government, and offer to defend what is called the *Monarchical opinion* against the Republican system.

“ I ACCEPT of your challenge with pleasure; and I place such a confidence in the superiority of the Republican system over that nullity of system, called *Monarchy*, that I engage not to exceed the extent of  
fifty



fifty pages, and to leave you the liberty of taking as much latitude as you may think proper.

“ THE respect which I bear your moral and literary reputation, will be your security for my candour in the course of this discussion; but, notwithstanding that I shall treat the subject seriously and sincerely, let me premise, that I consider myself at liberty to ridicule as they deserve, Monarchical absurdities, whensoever the occasion shall present itself.

“ BY Republicanism, I do not understand what the name signifies in Holland and in some parts of Italy. I understand simply a government by representation—a government founded upon the principles of the Declaration of Rights; principles

to which several parts of the French Constitution arise in contradiction. The Declarations of the Rights of France and America are but one and the same thing in principles, and almost in expressions; and this is the Republicanism which I undertake to defend against what is called *Monarchy* and *Aristocracy*.

I SEE with pleasure, that in respect to one point, we are already agreed; and *that is the extreme danger of a Civil List of thirty millions*. I can discover no reason why one of the parts of the government should be supported with so extravagant a profusion, whilst the other scarcely receives what is sufficient for its common wants.

“ THIS dangerous and dishonourable disproportion, at once supplies the one with  
the

the means of corrupting, and throws the other into the predicament of being corrupted. In America there is but little difference, with regard to this point, between the legislative and the executive part of our government; but the first is much better attended to than it is in France.\*

“ In whatsoever manner, Sir, I may treat the subject of which you have proposed the investigation, I hope that you will not doubt my entertaining for you the highest esteem. I must also add, that I am not the personal enemy of Kings. Quite the contrary. No man more heartily wishes than myself to see them all in the happy and honourable state of private individuals; but, I am the avow-

\* A Deputy to the Congress receives about a guinea and half daily; and provisions are cheaper in America than in France.

ed, open, and intrepid enemy of what is called Monarchy; and I am such by principles which nothing can either alter or corrupt—by my attachment to humanity; by the anxiety which I feel within myself for the dignity and the honour of the human race; by the disgust which I experience, when I observed men directed by children, and governed by brutes; by the horror which all the evils that Monarchy has spread over the earth excite within my breast; and by those sentiments which make me shudder at the calamities, the exactions, the wars, and the massacres with which Monarchy has crushed mankind: in short, it is against all the Hell of Monarchy that I have declared war.

(Signed)

THOMAS PAINE."

THE END.



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